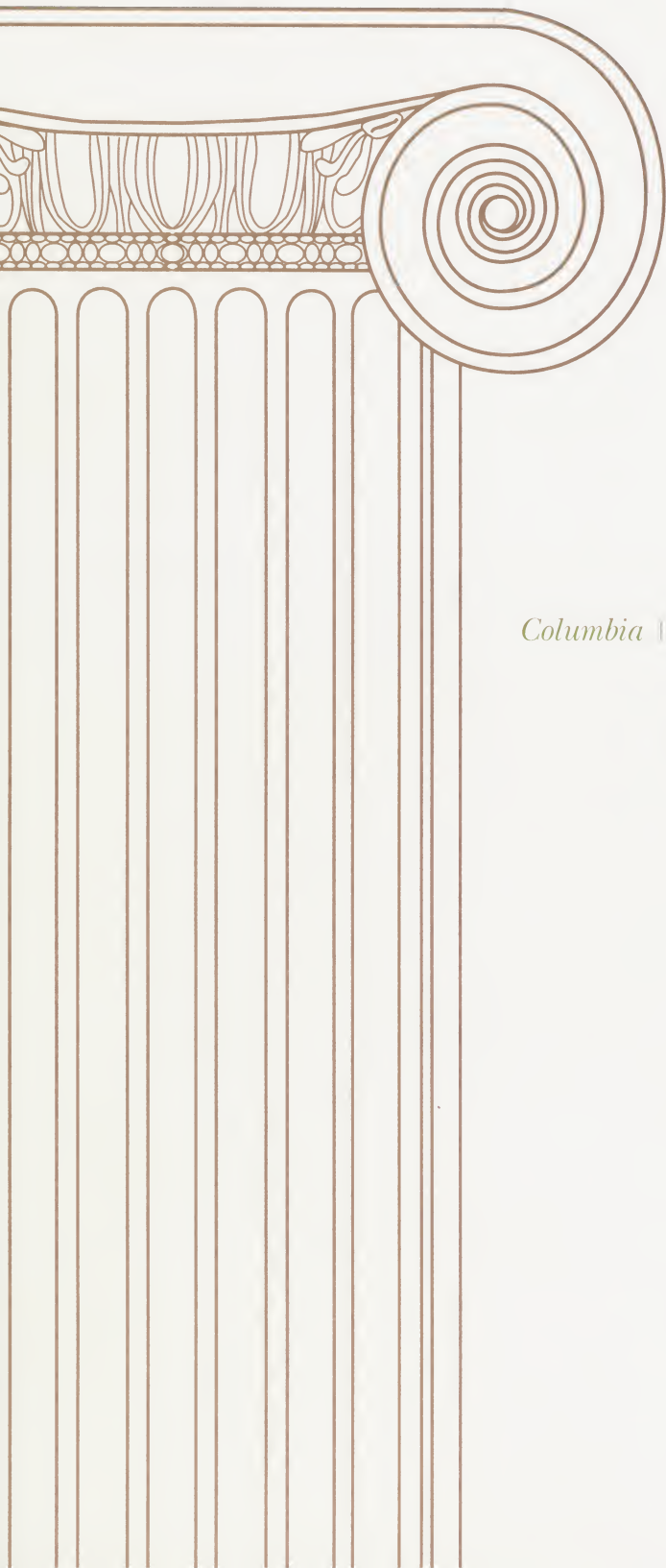


Spring 1997



Columbia | LIBRARY COLUMNS

Columbia
LIBRARY COLUMNS

VOLUME XLVI | SPRING 1997 | NUMBER 1

C O N T E N T S

<i>Preface</i>	2
ROBERT SCOTT, GUEST EDITOR	
<i>Medieval Manuscripts and the Modern Database:</i> <i>Mirabile Dictu</i>	5
CONSUELO W. DUTSCHKE	
<i>"So that his Master may have him again":</i> <i>The Pursuit of Indentured Property in the Pages</i> <i>of the Pennsylvania Gazette</i>	11
T. K. HUNTER	
<i>"What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba . . . ?"</i>	19
ELIAS J. THEODORACOPOULOS	
<i>Uncovering Gratian's Original Decretum with the</i> <i>Help of Electronic Resources</i>	27
ANDERS WINROTH	
<i>What is a Political History of Clothing?</i>	33
MICHAEL ZAKIM	
<i>Our Growing Collections</i>	39
<i>Contributors to This Issue</i>	43
<i>Electronic Text Service Resources Cited in This Issue</i>	43

PUBLISHED BY THE FRIENDS OF
THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

Two issues a year

652 Butler Library, Mail Code 1102, 535 West 114th Street,
New York, NY 10027

Michael Stoller, *Editor*
Margaret Ross Griffel, *Production Editor*

COLUMBIA LIBRARY COLUMNS

THE SPRING 1997 ISSUE | ROBERT SCOTT, GUEST EDITOR

In 1986, recognizing the revolutionary potential of electronic technology for humanities research, Anita K. Lowry of Butler Library's Reference Department created the Electronic Text Service (ETS), the first library department anywhere in the United States (and perhaps the world) devoted specifically to the collection and use of full-text source materials in electronic format for research and analysis. In the decade since, outstanding electronic text centers have sprung up at a number of other libraries, a national organizational structure has grown up around the Center for Electronic Text in the Humanities, and the body of available material has burgeoned, but the ETS has continued to grow along with the field. Its collections today include tens of thousands of texts in more than twelve languages and a variety of software tools for complex searching, making concordances, collation of variant versions, markup of structure and content, and other authoring and analysis tasks. The scope and programs of the department are also extending in new directions. From a collection primarily accessible via individual on-site workstations, it is moving toward one providing a maximum number of resources over the campus networks to individual offices and desktops. From an initial emphasis on formally published materials, it has broadened its mission to include assistance to users in acquiring reliable copies of more informally produced materials or creating their own electronic versions of texts. And finally, from a center whose early users were drawn primarily from the faculty and graduate student population, it is working to reshape itself into one providing more active support for undergraduate instruction as well, beginning with a collection of searchable online electronic versions of many

of the works read in Columbia College's Contemporary Civilization course. (More information about the resources and programs of the ETS is available on its web pages, located at <http://www.columbia.university/cu/libraries/indiv/ets>.)

In an effort to provide greater visibility to its programs and resources, the ETS recently inaugurated a series of lunchtime talks on electronic textual research at Columbia. The essays appearing in this issue are based on some of those presentations. The subject areas they represent—classics, medieval studies, and early American history—reflect areas of particular strength in the department's collections. They also illustrate the wide range of uses to which electronic materials may be put.

Anders Winroth's account of his discovery of a hitherto unknown recension of one of the key works of medieval canon law reveals the way in which the computer can help to identify structural peculiarities reflecting stages in the history of a complex text, as well as to identify earlier sources on which an author has drawn. Elias Theodoracopoulos's discussion of his study of Euripides' *Hecuba* demonstrates how the use of electronic tools for the close philological analysis of a single work of literature can generate interesting new interpretive insights. Thea K. Hunter's research on indentured servants in eighteenth-century America illustrates how a large and complex electronic textual database such as that of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* can serve as a rich source

of factual material, while Michael Zakim's use of the same and other early American texts for his investigation of sartorial culture in the early American republic indicates how this same type of material may be mined for evidence of implicit social attitudes. Finally, Consuelo Dutschke's reflections on her cataloging of Columbia's Plimpton Collection of medieval manuscripts and on the Rare Book and Manuscript Library's ongoing project to digitize selected medieval manuscripts testify to the value of large textual corpora for identifying anonymous or misidentified manuscript texts and the relatively less explored opportunities of computerized textual images.

The variety of approaches represented by the projects described above suggests, I hope, the extent to which electronic resources of this kind can be of assistance not only to scholars engaged in classic "computer analyses" of texts but to nearly any type of text-centered research for which electronic source materials are available. A somewhat related point, of equal importance and made by each of the writers here, is that these types of electronic textual resources do not so much supplant as supplement the great collections of printed source material that our research libraries have spent so many years in assembling.

*Robert Scott is the head of the Electronic Text Service, 504 Butler Library.

p^rectū p^rectū thulamy. quid p^rectū p^rectū signet.
 Et h^o thulamy rectum q^uo^d opta est recto aman
 cum mens. Tadhuc feruor a mo^ris i occulto e.
 h^o et p^rectū rectum. q^uo^d septima sacra tota quidem
 p^ro^pter nos sc^ripta e. s^{ed} nō tota intelligit^r a nobis. Mul
 ta quippe i illa ita ap^rta sc^ripta sūt. ut p^restime
 parvulos. quedam nō obscuris lib^ris sententiis
 ut exerceat fortis. quatenus aulatore p^ris p^rati
 ta sūt. intellectu. Nō illi ac ita i ea clausi sūt.
 ut dū ea nō intelligim^{us} agnoscetes i fuma me
 ceatans. ad humilitate magis. s^{ed} ad intelligentia
 am p^rficiam^{us}. Sūt ei quedam q^uo^d ita dⁱcelestib^{us}
 lacuntur. ut sōt illi sup^rius aulib^{us} i p^rati sua
 p^restantib^{us} pateat. nec dum nō p^regnantib^{us}
 referantur. H^o si quis ad urtem i cognitam
 patens. multa de illa i uia audiat. q^uo^dam p^ride
 ex t^ro colligit. q^uo^dam nō p^ro^pter dū audiat. nō
 modo cognoscit. q^uo^d nō aulib^{us} q^uo^d i ea sunt. et q^uo^d de il
 lara centur. uident et q^uo^d de illa dicunt intelligunt.
 Nos q^uo^d adhuc i uia sumus multa de illa celestⁱ
 patria audimus. alia ita p^ro^pter p^rim^{um} et uiam itelly
 spinus. q^uo^dam nō nō intellectu uen^{it}. n^{on} h^o m^o
 et de eodem sacro eloquio sc^riptum est. Foras
 dⁱus celis sicut pellem. q^uo^d t^ro^pter q^uo^d sup^rius est.

Et
 dⁱalib^{us}
 est dⁱalib^{us}

p^ro^pter 103.

MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND THE MODERN DATABASE:

Mirabile Dictu

CONSUELO W. DUTSCHKE

This paper recounts an episode that began as does all research: an impetus, questions, search. The impetus was provided by a single leaf of a medieval manuscript that I bought a year ago. The questions are those that arise almost naturally in looking at such a fragment: What does it say? How old is it?

I use this small leaf as a stand-in for vast numbers of surviving medieval manuscripts, our single greatest legacy from the pre-print era and the key factor in the intellectual continuum from antiquity through to the sixteenth century, when manuscripts' contents were transferred to printed form. It is important to recognize the double aspect of medieval manuscripts: had there been no physical survival, there could have been no intellectual survival. Conversely, without a text there is no manuscript. Thus, identification of a manuscript's text is the answer to the first question, placing value on the intellectual content. To discover a manuscript's place and date of origin is to answer the second question in a response that privileges the physical over the textual aspect. Without precise answers to questions of textual identity and textual circulation, we can only guess at the steps that lead us from the thinking of earlier times to our present condition.

When I first acquired this leaf, I paid a visit to the Electronic Text Service (ETS) in Butler Library and obtained the answer to my first question with remarkable ease. I began by isolating a string of several words, "quia operata est"; then, using the *CLCLT: CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts* on CD-ROM (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1991–), I searched the chosen words. The reward was the textual identity of this fragment: Gregory I, *Homilies on Ezechiel*, Book 2, homily 5. Seven years ago we could not have

done that. Seven years ago, we would only have “identified” the fragment as patristic (if such can be termed “identification”) and abandoned hope of accuracy. *CLCLT*, now occupying two CDs, contains all the texts published in the *Corpus Christianorum* series plus various major authors (e. g., Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome) drawn from other series such as the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* and the *Acta Sanctorum*.

I have had frequent occasion to use two other databases in ETS that work with the same methodology as *CLCLT*—in the sense of free word searching through a discrete body of complete texts: Chadwyck-Healey’s *Patrologia Latina* (Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1995) and *PHI 5.3* from the Packard Humanities Institute (Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute, 1991). The first database fills 5 compact discs and contains all 221 volumes of J. P. Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*, a collection of the Latin church fathers from the early years through the twelfth century. The second database, *PHI 5.3*, focuses on classical Latin literature.

I now temporarily abandon my little fragment to talk about the larger use of these databases. I came to Columbia on a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to catalogue the approximately 300 medieval and Renaissance manuscripts bequeathed to Columbia University in 1936 by George Arthur Plimpton. One of the salient features of this collection is the excellent sampling of early

scripts: fifteen Plimpton call numbers stand for items dating from ca. 700 to the year 1000. The scripts represented include several versions of Irish minuscule, one pre-Caroline script, one Visigothic, and a goodly variety of the script that came into being during the latter part of the eighth century: Caroline Minuscule itself. To this profile of Columbia’s early holdings I add that with one exception these items are all fragments. It is easily seen how useful the CD-ROM databases I have just mentioned are to the cataloguing of such fragmentary material. Of Columbia’s fourteen early fragments (the fifteenth early item being a complete codex), two are from Bibles, so their identification posed no problem to the early twentieth-century cataloguer Seymour de Ricci¹ (after all, the first concordance to the Vulgate Bible had been compiled during the thirteenth century); one fragment is liturgical, so its identification was also, at the basic level, quite simple; two of the Plimpton fragments were missed altogether by the collection’s first cataloguer. We are thus left with nine previously-catalogued fragments of texts: I have corrected the author attribution in four cases. De Ricci, after all, did not have the *Patrologia Latina* on CD-ROM.

Most of Columbia’s manuscripts are thankfully complete copies; a goodly number of these are neither classical texts nor treatises by the church fathers. When one is faced with a complete text of late medieval authorship, ETS offers another special tool: the *In*

Principio CD-ROM (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1993–). I am very fond of *In Principio*, starting with its name: a pun on the beginning of the Bible and on the database's own contents: Latin incipits. Incipits are the opening words of a text; they are to the Middle Ages what title pages are to the printed-book world: the authentic identifier of a specific text. It is the same system whereby we today might refer to a certain prayer as the "Our Father" (using its opening words) rather than calling it by its "title," the Lord's Prayer.

In Principio provides an advantage that traditional printed incipit lists cannot: free word searching internal to the incipit itself. Strict alphabetization is not an issue in this database; if you cannot read the first word, you may search on the second or on an alternative or truncated form. I do not need to explain the advantage of such flexibility in working with medieval texts. As has been recently pointed out, medieval texts do not have variants—they are variance itself.²

A bit of creative manipulation on the part of the user makes this Latin incipit database yet more flexible, especially if we remember that the barrier between Latin and the vernacular languages was more porous then than it is now. Allow me to propose the example of Plimpton MS 170. It begins, in Italian, "Conputo si e una scienza per sapere ciertificare del tempo . . ." I translated several key words into Latin as "scientia certificandi" and searched them on *In Principio*; presto, an author attribution that

I did not have before and might never have discovered on my own: "Bene Luccentis"; it was only a short step from the typographical error of this seemingly bizarre name to "Bonus Luccensis." The author is Bonus of Lucca, as further investigation proved.

To this point I have discussed my use of some of ETS's tools for the cataloguing of medieval manuscripts; these CD-ROMs were, however, not developed as cataloguing tools. Specifically, as the name of its home institution (Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes) reminds us, *In Principio* is intended to aid research in the history of texts. To this end we need to recall what classical scholarship has traditionally seen as its goal: the edition of the text; such scholarship tells us, presumably, what the author wrote. The IRHT approach is to determine what people read, when they read it, and where they read it, hence the necessity of pinpointing all surviving copies. The application of *In Principio* to studies of textual reception and circulation was its original intent.

The CD-ROM version of the *Patrologia Latina* lends itself to forms of scholarship that would be much more laborious in a straightforward reading of the printed text. Two examples come to mind, the first at the level of a simple word search. A friend, interested in commercial book production in the Middle Ages, remarked to me that there seemed to be rather few references to book sellers in the late antique-early medieval period, with the excep-

tion of Martial's often repeated comments about that exciting new book form, the codex.³ To move this observation from impression to evidence, one performs a word search on the *Patrologia* CD-ROMs and on *PHI 5.3*, looking up the word "librarius" and its Greek variant, "bibliopola": 487 hits. I did not call up the texts to verify each citation, but the point is made. Words are not reality, but in dealing with past eras they are what we have. Potentially this and many other single-word searches could lay the groundwork for interpretive scholarship based on the evidence of lexicography.

The CD-ROM *PL* and its counterpart, *CLCLT*, have surprised me with another type of search result that occurs with intriguing frequency. I cite one example: a search on the phrase "quae populus admiretur" produces four hits in the *PL* database. We open the four texts to find that all have exactly the one complete sentence, set in different contexts. By reading above and below the citation, it is possible to select the single correctly matching text to our manuscript: not Julianus Pomerius (*PL* 59:489), not the "auctor incertus" queried as Alcuin (*PL* 101:1193), not Rabanus Maurus (*PL* 112:1357); the matching text is Halitgarius, bishop of Cambrai (*PL* 105:661). Identification of the fragment only opened a larger question about the nature of authorship and citation in Carolingian times: why do four texts incorporate the same phrase with no signals of conscious quotation? Here, too, is a

potentially fruitful form of scholarship that would not have presented itself as vividly in a standard reading of a printed text. There is some risk that the ease of reference offered by electronic tools will make such research seem their sole function; "reference" is indeed how I use them in building another reference tool, a catalogue. But, as suggested, they offer many opportunities beyond reference to understanding, if the user manipulates them to his or her purposes.

At the beginning of this essay, I mentioned a manuscript leaf and asked the obvious questions on its textual identification and on its date of origin. ETS answered the first question. Another form of electronic tool will soon answer the second. In October 1996 the Mellon Foundation gave jointly to the University of California, Berkeley and to Columbia University a grant to build, on the World Wide Web, a database of digitized images of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts using the combined holdings of the two institutions. The intellectual backbone that I have given to this enterprise is that of the Catalogues of Dated and Datable Manuscripts. Medieval manuscripts, not possessing a title page with author/title information, also do not have "title pages" that state place/date information. The origin of a manuscript is almost always determined paleographically, in the same way in which connoisseurship functions for art historians, by the educated eye's comparison of hitherto unknown materials

against a recognized body of established origin. For paleography, compilation of the corpus of known material began officially in 1953, when the Comité International de Paléographie Latine established as a goal the photographic publication of every dated manuscript. To date, twenty-five volumes exist in the series, representing European libraries from Sweden to Rome. The United States has not participated, because our collections are too small and too scattered; for example, the Huntington Library has some 400 codices; of these only 26 (up to the year 1500) are dated. The cost of publication and distribution of numerous small fascicules would be prohibitive.

With our Berkeley-Columbia project, "The Digital Scriptorium," we can flag the images of dated manuscripts, we can at any point mesh new entries from other institutions into the chronological sequence, we can afford to put up multiple images of each dated book, and all the images will be in color.⁴ A user will be able to call up both dated and undated images and sort them one against the other or against his or her own material. In a few years time I, too, will be able to compare my fragment against an entire series of dated manuscript on the web, and I will probably decide that it is from northern France or modern-day Belgium, copied toward the end of the thirteenth century. I cannot do that yet; Digital Scriptorium is only in its initial phases.

In a few years time this new electronic database will provide yet another tool to sort out the past with a view to the future.

Notes

1. S. de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: H.H. Wilson, 1935–37).
2. Bernard Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).
3. Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983), 24–29.
4. Columbia has a test project of 100 images now available at :<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/indiv/rare/images>

STolen or stray'd on Saturday the 19th

Instant, from John Ogden of this City, Tagger, a grey Horse, about 4 Years old, trimm'd Mane, switch Tail, stood before, branded on the near Buttock AH.

Also R U N away yesterday from the same Person, a Servant Man named Philip Brown, aged about 21, lusty made but goes sloping, has strait black Hair, and talks the West-country Dialect. Wlad on a new Felt Hat, dark cloth Coat full trimm'd, striped Linen Jacket, white Linen Breeches, white Thread Stockings and strong Shoes. Whoever secures the said Horse and Servant so that they may be had again, shall have Ten Shillings Reward for the former, and Twenty Shillings for the latter, with reasonable Charges paid, by

John Ogden.

May 28.

FIG. 1—Advertising facsimile. Facsimile of an advertisement placed by owner John Ogden in the Pennsylvania Gazette in May 1733. It contains the important description of his missing livestock and his missing servant. Notice the similarity of language used in describing both.

“SO THAT HIS MASTER
MAY HAVE HIM AGAIN”:

*The Pursuit of Indentured Property
in the Pages of the Pennsylvania Gazette*

T. K. HUNTER

A degree of infamy brings indentured servants to our attention in the form of runaway advertisements taken out by masters seeking to recover them. The notices are a point of intersection for apprentices, indentured servants, convicts, and slaves; it is in the advertisements that the status of indentured servants as property becomes evident.

Manually searching the pages of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for runaway notices in the twenty-one-year period between 1729 and 1750—an undertaking of tremendous proportions—is both time consuming and painstaking. It requires reading each issue of the *Gazette* in full without the benefit of the indices and regular sections present in modern-day newspapers such as the *New York Times*. With its multicolumn format, the *Gazette* was a disorganized jumble of news, opinions, and classifieds: no index, no sections. An advertisement for a runaway could be placed adjacent to, above, or beneath an announcement of the newest ship to enter port from foreign parts, of a woman who left her husband, or of an attempt to clear one’s name from being ill-used. The possible embedding of a runaway notice within another announcement further complicates such an investigation.

However, a fully searchable electronic text of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Malvern, Pa.: Accessible Archives, 1991–) is a boon to the scholarly researcher. It allows for the extraction of information in ever broader or

more focused ways. Searching for runaways initially garnered over 1,430 matches. Though the yield included slaves, apprentices and convicts, the inquiry could be further focused by searching for “servant” within the context of “runaway.” Nevertheless, the larger search proved to be crucial to examining eighteenth century language. A word search for “entertainment” that began purely as an exercise, provided an important lesson: sensitivity to the changes in language use is essential.

For the Entertainment of our Readers, we shall give the Publick the following Account of the Greenland Gear, as reported by Captain Atkins, who has lately brought one to this Place . . . a Large White Greenland Bear, with a Cub sucking Her: the Cub suppos’d to be then about Three Months old. They generally keep near the Edges of the Cakes of Ice on the Greenland Seas, to catch Seils [sic], which they chiefly live on. This is the first of the Kind that ever was brought into this Country. (*PG*, Feb. 28, 1733)

A general search for “entertainment” yielded this entry—one among various diversions being offered to the Philadelphia public near the middle of the eighteenth century. Other items such as a tragedy called *Tamerlane* alongside a farce called *A Wife Well-Managed or a Cure for Cuckoldom* (*PG*, June 6, 1754), a

demonstration of the “newly discovered Electrical Fire” (*PG*, May 2, 1751), a roasted ox on the third day of an autumn fair, an opportunity to see the “Solar or Camera Obscura MICROSCOPE . . .” (*PG*, Aug. 2, 1744), despite their diversity, were forms of entertainment. The disparate matches returned by such a search might appear to obscure the results; in fact, they are each potential sources of great clarification.

Electronic texts allow the scholar to trace the occurrence of words and reveal meanings previously unconsidered. In the case of “entertainment,” the accretions of time that constructed its twentieth-century meaning were gradually eradicated, yielding a recontextualized “entertainment” in its richly varied eighteenth-century sense: it denoted theater performances, scientific demonstrations, exhibits of unusual scientific instruments and even the occasional display of exotic animals. This proved invaluable to understanding the texture of eighteenth-century life in and around the areas where the *Gazette* circulated. That life formed the backdrop for runaway indentured servants who left their trails, in the form of advertisements taken out by their masters, in the pages of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

“Run away.” Virtually all of the notices in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* concerning the disappearance of servants began with those words. For the reader or the hearer of the advertise-

ment, it stated the quarry in no uncertain terms.¹

Run away from John Matlack. . . . a Servant Man named Neal Macneal, an Irishman, aged about 20, wears an old Felt Hat, a dark colour'd home spun Coat and Jacket, Leather Breeches, grey Yarn Stockings, pair of old Shoes new mended, and one of 'em capp'd, or a pale Complexion, very much freckled. . . . (May 22, 1729)

Run away on the 15th of March from John Philips . . . an Irish Servant Man named John Macguire, middle Stature, thick and well-set, fresh coloured likely full Face, dark brown Hair somewhat curl'd; As to his Apparel a good Felt Hat, blue homespun cloth Coat trim'd with brass Buttons, a good pair of Buckskin Breeches with brass Buttons, blue yarn Stockings. . . . (March 26, 1730)²

Of the various notices in any given issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* runaway advertisements declared to the reader: there is someone among you who does not belong. Run away. The words detailed both the action and the actor. Yet the declaration of what was tantamount to a "fugitive in your midst" was not the modern equivalent of "armed and dangerous." Even those men who had made their escape from a local gaol, eluded their

sheriff captors, or took a gun with them, were not described as desperate, dangerous men who might threaten the community. A search for the terms "dangerous," "armed," "highwayman/men" (the villains of the eighteenth century) generated surprising results.

In this City, when the People of City and County were assembled in the Market Place, and had just begun the Choice of Inspectors, a Body of Sailors, suppos'd to be about 70 or 80, collected from several Ships in the Harbour, appear'd at the Foot of Market Street, arm'd with Clubs, and huzzaing march'd up in a tumultuous Manner towards the People. As they were mostly Strangers, and had no kind of Right to intermeddle with the election . . . (Oct. 7, 1742)

A Caution to the Paper-Money Colonies. TO beware of one Joshua Dean, who having been convicted of counterfeiting the Paper Stamps at Home, has been transported to the Plantations for Life. . . . he is a very sly artful Fellow, discourses well upon most Subjects of the Mechanics, and is a Jack of all Trades. . . . the utmost Care will be taken to keep him closely to honest Labour, to prevent so dangerous a Fellow from injuring the Publick . . . (June 15, 1738)

It was privateers, highwaymen, and unruly general election crowds who were described as armed; with them the public were enjoined to exercise caution. Privateers took prisoners, highwaymen waylaid fellow travelers, relieving them of money and clothing, and election crowds marched in a tumultuous manner, shouting and brandishing clubs. Counterfeiters were considered “dangerous fellows” who must be kept from “injuring the Publick.” Indentured servants could become highwaymen, privateers, counterfeiters, or add to the numbers of an unruly election crowd, but they were not inherently dangerous in their runaway state—presence of arms notwithstanding.

That runaway indentured servants were not considered to be threatening suggested that the purpose of the advertisements was not primarily to announce the presence of a societal menace at large. Instead, it implied that the notices were a different type: they indicated indentured servants’ status as property.

By the eighteenth century the basic form for indenture could be purchased at the printer or stationer complete with blank spaces for the prospective servant and master to fill in. The transaction, though not complex, bound a man, or less frequently, a woman, for a specific term. Servants agreed to serve faithfully, honestly, and obediently and masters agreed to provide sufficient food, drink, apparel, lodging, and freedom dues

“according to the custom of the country.” Their signatures bound both by a legal contract sealed by the local magistrate. The subtleties of that binding must not be overlooked. Traditionally, attention focused on the voluntary aspect of the transaction while the transformative effects remained unexamined: the servant was recast from a man who owned his own labor to a bound laborer who became property of someone else.

The presence of a legal contract notwithstanding, when servants fled from their circumstances, violation of contract was not at issue. Indeed, not a single runaway notice for an indentured servant appearing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in the period between its founding in 1729 and 1750 made reference to an infraction of a legal contract. Bondspeople who ran away were property—the advertisements were unequivocal on that score—and their masters wanted to regain them.

When indentured servants came to the public’s attention through descriptions in runaway notices, they ceased to be the unobtrusive source of labor they were presumed to be. And as a source of labor—like horses or cattle—their straying was noteworthy to the local community as well as a farther-reaching regional colonial public. When runaways appeared in newspaper ads—like the chestnut horse with a white blaze between his eyes, or the cow with a notch in his left ear—they were described in close detail as strayed property.

Taken out of the Stable of the Bear Inn in Market street, on Monday Night last, a young black Horse about 5 Years old, branded with IK upon the near Buttock, a Star in the Forehead and a snip upon the Nose . . . At the same Time was taken a breasted Saddle, almost new with double stampt Housens bound round with white, the Sweat flaps single, one of the foremost brass Nails is lost . . . (March 26, 1730)

Strayed or Stolen on the 2d of this Inst. from Daniel Rodney's Pasture in Dover, two Horses. The one branded with I H on the near Shoulder, and a Scar of a Fistul on the off Shoulder, large Main and long Switch Tail. The other branded with L T on the near Buttock. . . . (Sept. 25, 1735)

Clustered word searches for "lost" or "stolen" with "reasonable charges" produced numerous advertisements for lost, strayed, or stolen property, all of which followed a particular form: the supposition of how, where, and when the property was removed and who sustained the loss. A description of the property followed, e.g., "a young black mare marked with IK on the near buttock, together with a new russet saddle . . ." Each advertisement ended with the refrain "whoever secures the said [property] so that it/they may be had again" would receive a reward plus reasonable charges paid by the advertising owner. When, for example, an owner described a black breasted saddle, with a brass pommel and buckles of a breast plate, such a saddle was not to be confused with any other similar saddle missing. The detail of description suggested a number of things, not the least of which was

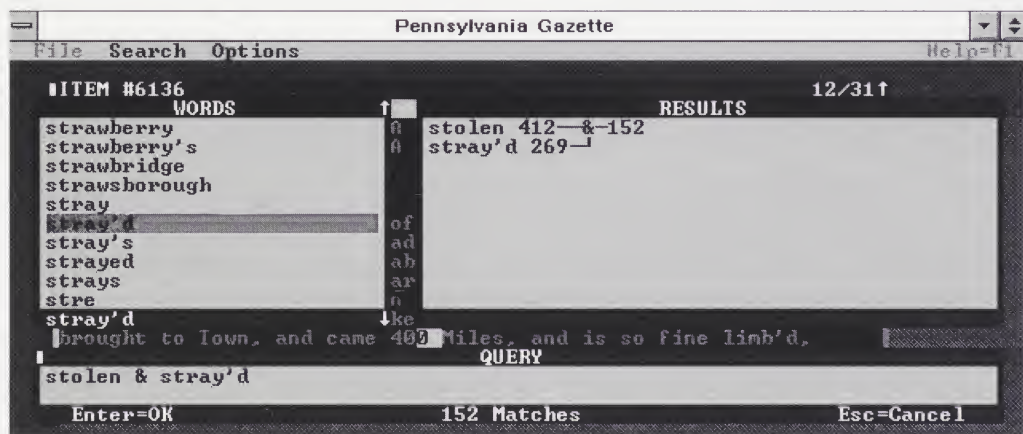


FIG. 2—"Stolen & Stray'd." Search screen indicating the number of folios containing the words "Stolen" and "Stray'd." In each case, the first number is the word's appearance in isolation, and the number after the ampersand is the word's appearance in combination.

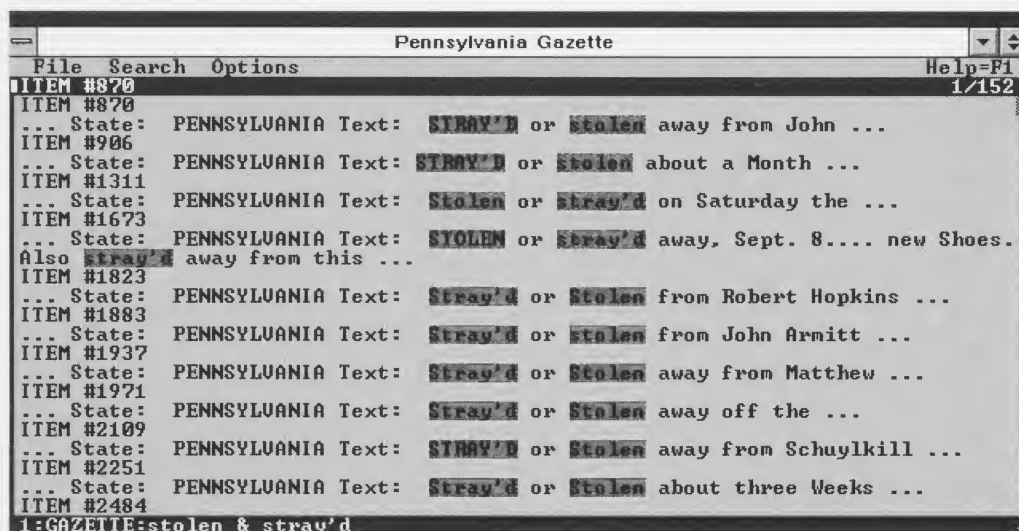


FIG. 3—"Stolen & Stray'd" Search screen results using the "focused" feature. This allows the user to see, at a glance, part of the phrase in context in list form. The screen can be easily expanded to read the text of each result in its entirety.

the deep familiarity the owner had with his property. Particularity indicated two important points stressed by the owner: the property should not be confused with something initially similar in form, and "I know this thing—this property is irrefutably mine." In those instances, intimate knowledge, more than possession, weighed heavily in favor of the owner.

The stolen and lost property advertisements bear an unmistakable resemblance to runaway advertisements in their form, detail, and suppositions. When, for example, on May 31, 1733, John Ogden placed an ad concerning both his strayed or stolen horse and his runaway indentured servant, the comparison was firmly established. Ogden reported "a grey horse, about 4 years old,

trimm'd mane, switch tail, shod before, branded on the near buttock AH," and in the next sentence described his servant man "Philip Brown, aged about 21, lusty made but goes stooping, has strait [sic] black hair, and talks the west country dialect." Ogden's sketch included an inventory of Philip Brown's clothing: "a new felt hat, dark cloth coat full trimm'd, stripped linen jacket, white linen breeches, white thread stockings and strong shoes." The advertisement ended as follows: "Whoever secure [sic] the said horse and servant so that they may be had again, shall have 10 shillings reward for the former, and 20 shillings for the latter, with reasonable charges paid by John Ogden."³

Ogden's horse, a beast of burden incapable of making agreements or its wishes

known, was non-sentient property whose dimensions were delineated in the ad; the horse could be rendered in terms of color, age, type of hair, accoutrements, and bodily markings. Ogden's servant, Philip Brown, was not a beast incapable of making agreements. As a servant Brown had once asserted he was capable of binding himself without infringing upon the rights of someone else—a necessary component of the legal indenture contract.⁴ The contract that Philip Brown signed made him property—supplanting self-ownership and completing his transformation to another state. In the pages of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philip Brown was so much property, sharing a status with a four-year-old grey horse with a brand on its near buttock.

For indentured servants to have been recast as property in the act of making a contract was ironic; it was, in effect, their last free act until such time as the terms of the contract were fulfilled or the contract itself is dissolved. Prior to the transformative signing, the prospective servant was free enough—and equal enough—to be considered a partner in a legal transaction.

When he signed a form of indenture, the servant's freedom and equality vanished, along with the opportunity to be self determining. In addition, the law called for extending the term of servitude, should various portions of the contract not be met by the servant. Nevertheless, in runaway notices

of indentured servants, the point of contention did not pivot about breach of contract.

That servants were transformed into property argues against the benign nature of indentured labor and reveals the lacunae in our understanding of eighteenth-century bound servitude. For in binding his labor the servant bound himself beyond labor. When he sought freedom, it became evident that his binding had altered his state and for a time changed him into another man's property, ready to be sought and found so that his master might have him again.

The need for well-designed, searchable electronic texts for scholarly use cannot be overemphasized. However, such texts do not eliminate the necessity of working with documents either in their original or in microfilm. True, some electronic texts provide facsimiles of the original, viz., the figures illustrated here, but they are of a certain limited value. A reproduction of an article in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* does not indicate such important information as where it was placed in the newspaper or the relative size of the type in relation to articles or advertisements around it. For those factors to be determined, the scholar must consult original documents.

Electronic texts do not substitute for the unmistakable thrill of handling historic documents—rare or less so—nor are they meant to. Few, if any, would forego the opportunity to

work with the original document in favor of working with the electronic version. Nevertheless, when properly developed, in partnership with academic specialists and with an understanding of the needs of the scholarly researcher, searchable electronic texts have the potential to increase the accessibility of information and promote better, more thorough scholarship—uncovering previously undiscovered layers of the past and making them apparent in the present for the future of the field.

Notes

1. Roy Porter notes that there were still many who were illiterate in eighteenth-century England—thus they were unable to read newspapers that informed them of the current goings-on. Information was nonetheless passed on via what Porter calls a “bridging” process. Men gathering at taverns would read aloud from newspapers the events to all and sundry, enabling even the illiterate among them to keep abreast of a variety of situations both social and political. Similarly, information concerning runaways would have certainly been accessible to the male tavern-going populace in eighteenth-century Philadelphia and runaways themselves would have known their own descriptions were in circulation. See *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin Books), p. 167. Though writing much later, Nathaniel Hawthorne illustrates the presence of runaway notices posted in taverns when an innkeeper, wishing to rid his public house of an undesirable patron, referred to the notice while assessing

the figure and dress of the man he wanted to leave. See “My Kinsman, Major Molyneux,” in *Nathaniel Hawthorne’s Tales*, James McIntosh, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), p. 7.

2. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, CD-ROM Edition (Provo, Utah: Accessible Archives, Inc., 1991) Folio 1, 1728–1750.

3. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 31, 1733.

4. William Moraley gives an account of the process of becoming indentured in England and includes the fact that he had to swear he was unmarried or, already apprenticed by another indenture. See *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, an Indentured Servant*, Susan E. Klepp and Billy G. Smith, eds. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania University Press, 1992), 52.

"WHAT'S HECUBA TO HIM,
OR HE TO HECUBA . . .?"

ELIAS J. THEODORACOPOULOS

I am currently engaged in writing a philological and literary commentary on Euripides' tragedy *Hecuba*, which was first performed in the Theater of Dionysus in Athens in 424 B.C. The function of such a commentary is to provide the advanced reader of the play with help in the following matters: the author's use of language, both within the confines of the specific work and in the context of his entire extant oeuvre; the similarities and differences between this author's style and the style of other contemporary practitioners of the genre of tragedy; the author's place in the development of the Greek language and thought of the classical period, both before and after him; and, no less importantly, help in understanding Euripides' imaginative world within the play itself and in its relation to the contemporary realities of life in fifth-century Athens.

For this commentary electronic resources have been invaluable, although they have their limitations. The primary electronic database that I use is the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) on CD-ROM, a full-text database that ultimately aims to contain all of Greek literature from Homer to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. It is published by the University of California at Irvine and in its current form consists of one CD-ROM, version D of which became available in early 1996. Accompanying it in book format is the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, 3rd ed., by Luci Berkowitz and Karl A. Squitier (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), which lists alphabetically by author the ideal table of contents of the completed *Thesaurus* and provides *inter alia* full bibliographic information on the editions of individual works used in compiling the *Thesaurus*. However, not all authors or works listed in the *Canon* are at present



*Athenian white lekythos by the Reed Painter, last quarter of the fifth century B.C. Charon, the ferryman of the underworld, draws his ἄκατος over the river Acheron. Athens, National Museum 1759. Cf. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 1376, no. 1. For more information, see Donna C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 58–65.*

contained in the current CD version; newer versions will have more texts until, probably early in the next century, a semblance of the Platonic ideal will be reached. The *TLG* is fairly complete for the archaic and classical periods and includes all the major authors and works of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Both primary texts and scholia are included, but some authors whose work has been preserved only in fragments are not. The *TLG* is therefore a work in progress.

Pandora, the program I use to read the *TLG* CD-ROM on the Apple Macintosh, runs under Hypercard 2.1 and with some minor variations is similar to a comparable program run on Windows for the PC. Pandora enables me to search for individual words and phrases, in close proximity or at some distance, in single authors or in a group of authors or works. The program prompts the formation of specific subsets of the database but also enables me to form my own more limited group of texts by allowing the manipulation of lists. I have therefore formed permanent lists of primary texts arranged by century, such as 8 B.C., 7 B.C, etc., up to the first century B.C. I search these lists regularly for comparative linguistic material. Once a specific word or phrase has been searched in, say, the fifth century B.C. list of authors, the program enables me to export the citations of all relevant passages, with ample context, to a word-processing file, with the result that I may have at my disposal, on diskette or hard drive,

a comprehensive collection of texts illustrative of the problem that I was seeking to elucidate in the first place.

The main limitations of the *TLG* are two: first, that the texts included in the CD-ROM are not accompanied by any information on manuscript textual variants, which are always included in critical printed editions; and second, that the editions used as basis for each author are, primarily for copyright reasons, not necessarily the best available to the world of scholarship. Texts that are frequently re-edited, such as those of the Athenian dramatists, are improved with each generation, whereas texts by philosophers, such as Aristotle, which are not (despite the need), remain much as they were in the late nineteenth century. Hence the *TLG* usually includes the best available texts of the less worked-on authors, but not necessarily the converse. There are exceptions, naturally. But even knowing which edition is used in *TLG* is by itself not enough to obviate the need to check the results of *TLG* searches against printed editions, since the lack of any information on the evidence of manuscripts leaves the reader at the mercy of editors. The printed book, therefore, has not been replaced yet; it has only been supplemented by the existence of electronic texts.

To illustrate the usefulness of an electronic full-text database such as the *TLG*, I shall focus on one example from Euripides' *Hecuba*, lines 444–483. The chorus dances and

sings a song, which consists of two pairs of strophe-and-antistrophe, written in aeolic meters. Troy has fallen. The song comes after Polyxena's decision to let herself be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles and her being led off to her death by Odysseus, and before the Greek herald Talthibius arrives to narrate young Polyxena's noble death. During the song the captive Trojan women wonder where they might be headed when the Greek army leaves Troy: to Sparta, to Phthia (Thessaly), to the islands (such as Delos), or to Athens, there to weave the peplos for Athena. They are slaves moving from Asia to Europe.

Keeping in mind that for Euripides the *TLG* uses the old text of Murray ("corrected": but by whom, based on what?), whereas the standard printed texts today are by Diggle (1984) and Daitz (1973), one reads the word *akatos* in line 446, in the accusative plural form *akatous* (= "vessels" in Collard's translation). The word is odd. The chorus refers to the mighty Greek armada. Is it simply an extravagant use of the word, as Collard writes in his commentary (1991)? Checking the standard Greek-English dictionary, by Liddell-Scott-Jones (LSJ: 1940) one finds under *akatos* (fem.): I. "light vessel," "boat," Theognis, line 458, Pindar, *Pythian* 11, line 40, Herodotus book 7, chapter 186 (masculine), Thucydides book 7, chapter 25, etc.; used in the mysteries, *[Inscriptiones] G[raecae]* 1. 225c; generally "ship," Euripides, *Hecuba* line 446, *Orestes* line 342. II. "boat-shaped cup," Theopompus

comicus, fragment 3 (= Telestes frag. 6), Antiphanes comicus, fragment 4. No Greek text is cited, only the references. One therefore needs more context in order to understand Euripides' choice of language here.

A *TLG* search for ἄκατο- and ἄκατω-, i. e., a search for fragments of the word, to allow for changes due to inflection, done separately by century (8th B.C. to 4th B.C.) according to my own compiled lists of authors, yields the following hits:

for the 8th cent.: 15 hits: none usable

for the 7th cent.: 0 hits

for the 6th cent.: 2 hits: 1 usable

(Theognis 458)

for the 5th cent.: 50 hits: 25 usable, plus (26)

a new word βλασφημακάτοις from the scholia

for the 4th cent.: 26 hits: 16 usable.

The discrepancy between those hits that are pertinent to the inquiry and those that are unusable is the result of Pandora's finding all words in the database that contain the sequence of letters "-akato-." Unfortunately, such a search cannot be limited more precisely at present. Therefore one must go through the results and eliminate the superfluous finds, which, if the original search is formulated narrowly enough, are not very many and can be easily deleted. Furthermore, since my lists of authors contain not only primary texts, according to century, but also scholia pertaining to these authors, which, however,

commonly date from late antiquity and the Middle Ages, some hits (whether pertinent or not) will date from a much later period than Euripides' own. With adjustments the results are as follows:

- for the 8th–7th cent.: no instance of the word ἄκατος
- for the 6th cent.: 1 instance only
- for the 5th cent.: 25 instances, of which 12 are genuinely 5th cent.
- for the 4th cent.: 16 instances, of which only 4 belong to the 4th cent.

A total of seventeen instances, then, of the word ἄκατος can be securely assigned to the sixth-fourth centuries B.C., including four from Euripides himself. Contrast this number with the ten references, without text, given by LSJ. Notable also is that LSJ refers to inscription IG 1. 225c from Athens, which the *TLG* does not yield, since it contains no epigraphical material: for that one must use the Packard Humanities Institute *PHI* 7 CD-ROM (Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute, 1996) that contains inscriptions. The gain, even with this limitation, is significant. The literary passages, then, are the following: Theognis 1. 458, Pindar *Pythian* 11. 40 and *Nemean* 5. 2, Euripides *Hecuba* 446, *Trojan Women* 1100, *Orestes* 342, fragment 773. 35 (= *Phaethon* 79), Herodotus 7. 186. 3, Thucydides 7. 25. 6 and 7. 59. 3, Aristophanes *Knights* 762, Critias fragment B2. 11 Diels-Kranz, and Telestes fragment 7.1 Poetae Melici Graeci,

Antiphanes fragment 3 Kassel-Austin, Theophilus fragment 6 Kassel-Austin, Theopompus comicus fragment 4 Kassel-Austin, and Theopompus historicus fragment 398. 1 (Jacoby).

A comparison of these seventeen passages is revealing. Since the Pandora program can export the full text of citations into a word-processing file, study of the relevant passages is a relatively easy task, after irrelevant or duplicate quotations have been eliminated. What does one observe then? Starting with Theognis 1. 458: οὐ τι σύμφορον ἐστὶ γυνὴ νέᾳ ἀνδρὶ γέροντι· οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὥς ἄκατος ("a young woman is not suitable for an old man; for she is not persuaded [easily] with a rudder like a boat"). The language is repeated, almost word-for-word, by the comic playwright Theophilus, in an identical context. Clearly ἄκατος connotes something light and fickle that can be maneuvered easily. Moving to three other comic poets, Aristophanes, *Knights* 762: τήν ἄκατον παραβάλλου ("make the boat ready"), is using the word in a metaphorical sense taken from seafaring, whereas Antiphanes and Theopompus comicus (the latter quoting a near contemporary of Euripides, Telestes) use the work in a still further extension of its meaning, namely to refer to a boat-shaped cup used in libations at dinner for Zeus (a common type of transferred meaning). The quotation from Theopompus the historian is probably due to an ancient error in attribution (see Jacoby).

Of the remaining instances, both Herodotus and Thucydides (3 instances) use the word to name auxiliary vessels accompanying a fleet, in contexts that describe present or suggest future disasters. Critias' passage is concerned with the first builders of such support vessels. Pindar compares himself to a skiff blown off course (*Pythian* 11. 40), and in *Nemean* 5. 2 he evokes the image of a boat-lift à la Dunkirk, teeming with vessels unsuitable for the occasion, to convey the urgency of the news he must deliver.

Excluding Euripides, so far the semantic range of the word, both literal and metaphorical, is clear and confirms the outline given by LSJ. What about context? ἄκατος is used by didactic and comic poets in lighthearted contexts and, similarly, by lyric poets; the historians employ it matter-of-factly but suggest an incongruity between a major naval enterprise and the flimsiness of the vessel. Critias, who wrote in verse, falls somewhere between the didactic poets and the historians.

Finally, we are back to Euripides, whom this exercise seeks to understand. In *Trojan Women* 1100 ff. the chorus of Trojan slave women wishes that the ἄκατος of Menelaus be struck by a thunderbolt on its return home from captured Troy. In the epic cycle that was ascribed to Homer in antiquity most Greek ships met disasters at sea such as the chorus wishes here, although Menelaus (carrying Helen home) escaped. The chorus's wish strikes an ironic tone on several levels: it belit-

ties the mighty warship piloted by Menelaus, and hence the entire war effort, and plays with the audience's knowledge of future "events." In *Orestes* 340 ff. the chorus of women of Argos contemplates the transience of human prosperity by evoking the image of some god striking the sail of a swift skiff (ἄκατου) and making it sink without a trace. A serious moment that expresses a familiar sentiment in an image familiar from Aeschylus, but with the added touch, not in Aeschylus, that the boat itself (= prosperity and wealth) is inconsequential. In *Phaethon* 79 (Diggle) the female chorus sings of ἄκατοι being rowed by winds, not rowers, on their voyage, and prays for a favorable breeze: a context of peace, almost idyllic in tone, with a suggestion of lightness and speed.

Irony, pity, and lightness are qualities that Euripides evokes in these three passages. What about in the passage from *Hecuba* 444 ff.? All of the above applies, and then some. Especially in conjunction with a repeated apostrophe to "breeze," the chorus ask, where would the ἄκατοι convey them, now that they are slaves? The word here suggests several things, all in a seafaring context: fickleness, frailty, transitoriness, fragility, danger on the voyage home, and a touch of condescension toward the mighty armada that just completed its conquest of Troy and is about to be lost at sea. When we remember that at the time of writing this tragedy Euripides' native city Athens was engaged in an all-out war with the Spartans,

and that Athenian military strength was primarily naval, the description of naval ships as light “boats” or “skiffs” becomes important for understanding his attitude toward war.

In conclusion, I would say that in order to study the context, style, tone, and especially the different registers of language in a work of literature that is both distant in time and alien in thought, such as Euripides’ *Hecuba*, it is necessary to have easy access to huge amounts of text for purposes of comparison and evaluation. The *TLG* helps to provide the context in which the tone and register of the language can be detected and the literary quality of the work judged. In other words, the *TLG* in electronic form is a tool of crucial importance for the stylistic analysis of texts.



Gratian. An idealized portrait from the eighteenth century. Columbia Law Library.

UNCOVERING GRATIAN'S ORIGINAL
DECRETUM WITH THE HELP
OF ELECTRONIC RESOURCES*

ANDERS WINROTH

Gratian's *Decretum* is one of the most influential law books ever produced. Written around 1140, it was soon employed in law courts all over Europe and remained in use in Catholic church courts until 1917. Together with the Roman law books promulgated by the emperor Justinian, the *Decretum* formed an international legal system, a European common law, which during the rest of the Middle Ages provided a framework and a language for national and regional legislation.

The success of Gratian's work was due to its being the right book at the right time. The rapidly developing European societies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries required more sophisticated laws than were readily available. This explains why these centuries were characterized by intense efforts to explore, interpret, and codify law. Gratian's contribution was to collect the laws of the church and synthesize them into a coherent system. His *Decretum* contained almost 4,000 chapters and was also the first ecclesiastical law collection to contain a commentary. Some laws seemed to contradict others, but Gratian used scholastic methods to show that there was always some way to reconcile such laws with each other. No canon lawyer had tried to do this before, at least not on as wide a scale. Gratian brought order into canon law, and his work made it possible to study this subject systematically and as an academic subject. Thus, he helped create the University of Bologna, often considered Europe's oldest university. The *Decretum* became a bestseller, as is evident from the more than 600 extant medieval manuscripts that contain the work.

In my Columbia Ph.D. dissertation (1996), I examined the text of the *Decretum* to explore how Gratian went about writing his massive work. To that end, I investigated two things: which sources he employed and how he used the texts he found to build a coherent legal system. I looked for clues that would, as it were, give a picture of Gratian in his study working on the *Decretum*. During my work, the resources of Butler library's Electronic Text Service (ETS) helped me in many ways.

One type of clue is what the eminent scholar Stephan Kuttner, in a happy turn of phrase, called "untidy seams." When one reads the text of the *Decretum*, it quickly becomes clear that it is a work that outgrew its original plan. An example of the textual details that give this impression is the common heading or rubric, "de eodem" ("about the same thing"). When this rubric appears over a chapter, Gratian indicates that its subject is the same as that of the preceding chapter. But sometimes this heading is found over a chapter that is not about the same thing as the one that immediately precedes it. If one looks carefully, it appears that the rubric refers to an earlier chapter. I believe this means that the intervening chapters were added after Gratian wrote the rubric.

How is one to find such rubrics so that one can study them systematically? Gratian's *Decretum* is a large book, occupying over 700 densely printed pages in large format in the modern edition. There is a printed concor-

dance (i. e., a list of the words of the text in alphabetical order), but it is not likely to contain such common words as "de" or "eodem." One solution is to get a computer file containing the full text of the *Decretum*. The Monumenta Germaniae Historica in Munich, who published the concordance, was kind enough to let me have a copy of the computer file that was used in preparing the concordance. At the ETS I ran this file through a text-analysis program called TACT, which created a textual database that has since been a great help for my research. In a matter of seconds it told me that Gratian used the phrase "de eodem" 398 times, and it gave me the immediate context of each occurrence.

Similarly, when Gratian makes a general reference to a subject that he had discussed earlier, the concordance is usually of little help, since it only allows searching for one word at a time (or, rather, for one grammatical form of one word at a time). The TACT database, on the other hand, makes it easy to trace such references, since it allows me to search for combinations of words and the different grammatical forms of the appropriate words.

Also, when I attempted to identify the sources of the *Decretum*, the ETS was able to provide invaluable help. In one respect, Gratian's sources are obvious: When he says that he quotes Jerome, for example, then Jerome was his source. Unfortunately, things are often more complicated: Gratian never read Jerome's works. He took his texts from

earlier canon law collections, which in turn had taken them from other collections, and so on. What once was Jerome could easily, through some misunderstanding, become Augustine. Once a mistake got into the transmission, it was not readily corrected. Obviously, one must distinguish between Gratian's immediate sources (usually called "formal sources") and the ultimate or original ("material") sources.

Generations of scholars have worked on identifying the material sources of Gratian's *Decretum*. The result is that the sources of almost all 4,000 canons have been identified, with the sources of only about 50 canons still unidentified. One of the databases available at the ETS helped me reduce the number of unknown sources further. Gratian claims that one of his chapters (C. 11, q. 3, c. 45) is an excerpt from Augustine's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. Scholars have long known that this is not true, but they have not been able to find the actual source. I searched for keywords from this text in a database called the *CLCLT: CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts*. This database contains numerous patristic and medieval texts, most of which are drawn from recent, good editions. My search uncovered a reference to a work by the theologian Paschasius Radbertus, who lived in the ninth century. Scholars should be careful, however, not to jump to the conclusion that Paschasius was the true author of the mysterious chapter. I checked the edition of his

work (easy to find and use in the collections of Butler Library's excellent Ancient and Medieval Studies Reading Room) and discovered that Paschasius, too, was quoting another author, namely, the second-century theologian Origen. The footnotes in the Paschasius edition sent me to the edition of the Latin translation of Origen's commentary on Matthew. Here was the text that Gratian had quoted and that has escaped scholarly attention for centuries.

In my project, Gratian's formal sources were more important than the material sources. After all, the formal sources were the books that Gratian had in front of him on his desk while working on his *Decretum*. The legal historian Peter Landau has recently established that Gratian used six main sources, so I could concentrate my attention on those six. Two of them, the *Panormia*, compiled by Bishop Ivo of Chartres, and a treatise written by the canonist Alger of Liège, are available in poor editions in the *Patrologia Latina* (*PL*, a large series of reprints published in the middle of the nineteenth century by an industrious French abbot, Jacques-Paul Migne). The editions may be bad, but their inclusion in the *PL* has a nice bonus: There is a *PL* database by Chadwyck-Healey that contains the full text of all 221 volumes of this collection. Whenever I suspected that Gratian had taken a chapter from either Ivo or Alger, I could very easily search for that chapter in the electronic version of their works. This frequently paid off,

as the indices available in traditional (i. e., printed) form turned out to have overlooked some relevant chapters. Because of the great size of the *PL* database, I was able to check whether Gratian in specific cases might have used a source other than the six listed by Landau. The *Patrologia Latina* may be a less than perfect collection, since it contains so many bad editions, but the *PL* database is nevertheless an extremely useful tool.

When I systematized my observations about Gratian's "untidy seams" and about his use of sources, distinct stages in his editorial work began to emerge. My most unexpected finding was that there seems to have been a stage at which most of the commentary had already been written, but not all the chapters were yet present. A hypothetical earlier version of the *Decretum* seemed to materialize. If I wanted to argue in earnest that such a shorter version existed, I needed, however, clearer and more tangible evidence, preferably in the form of medieval manuscripts containing this version. The ETS was also of assistance in my efforts to map the manuscripts of the *Decretum*. The CD-ROM called *In Principio* contains information about thousands of manuscripts. A search for Gratian manuscripts in this source yielded dozens of shelf-marks. Further, there are some databases of manuscripts available on the Internet, including the excellent DBI-LINK for manuscripts in German libraries, a web site devoted to Austrian manuscripts, and the listings of

microfilms in the collections of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library in Collegeville, Minnesota. I have found many Gratian manuscripts with the help of these resources, although I came across the four most interesting ones in more traditional ways, through the specialized literature. It turned out that the earlier version of the *Decretum* in fact is found in four manuscripts, which are preserved in libraries in Barcelona, Florence, Paris, and Admont in the Austrian Alps. These manuscripts have been known for some time, but their significance had not been recognized. A close study of their contents shows clearly and unambiguously that this is the first recension of Gratian's *Decretum*.

The discovery of the first recension explains an aspect of the *Decretum* that often confuses readers: Frequently, it is difficult to figure out Gratian's opinion on any given issue, since his text seems contradictory and inconsistent. This holds true for the second recension but is less so for the first, which contains most of the commentary found in the second recension but only about half of the canons. Most of Gratian's arguments and conclusions, therefore, were present already in the first recension, while each section of the text was shorter. Gratian's discussion appears more tightly argued and easier to follow. Let me give an uncomplicated example: It has often been remarked that the section labeled D. 6 fits its context poorly. Gratian here interrupts his discussion about the sources and

theory of law in order to examine the legislation concerning nocturnal emissions. This digression is missing from the first recension, in which Gratian keeps to the subject of the theory and sources of law.

To me it seems unlikely that the author of the tightly argued first recension would disturb his work in this manner. Additionally, I believe there are clear differences in approach and method between the two recensions. I have therefore suggested that the two recensions have different authors. Which of them was Gratian? Since the only thing we seem to know for sure about Gratian is that he wrote the *Decretum*, this question is somewhat disingenuous. As Charles Homer Haskins reminds us, "nothing is gained by the process which ascribes the Homeric poems to another poet of the same name." In any case, I prefer to think of the author of the first recension as the real author of the *Decretum*. It was he who first brought the methods of early scholasticism to bear on canon law, thereby creating the concord of dissonant canons that gave the work its original title. I like to think that the author's name was Gratian.

programs mentioned are available in the Electronic Text Service of Columbia's Butler Library.

*The results of the research described in this article are presented in the author's "The Two Recensions of Gratian's *Decretum*," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 83 (1997): 22–31, and in his forthcoming book *The Making of Gratian's "Decretum."* The databases and



John Singleton Copley, "Nicholas Boylston," 1767. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Copley was the Revolutionary era's outstanding portraitist. His real subject was the rich textures and colors of the gentry's clothing.

WHAT IS A POLITICAL HISTORY OF CLOTHING?

MICHAEL ZAKIM

The history of clothing unfolds at the center of politics. It is inseparable from social power, labor relations, political conflicts, and ideological justifications. In fact, two distinct moments in this history, divided in time by a hundred years, help to illuminate one of the great issues of American politics, namely, the relationship between capitalism and democracy.

Homespun clothing became a means of revolutionary agitation in America in the 1760s, a response to British trade reforms. A patriot donned these unrefined products of household labor to renounce imperial hubris and augment its antithesis, domestic manufactures. As Benjamin Rush, president of the United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures, argued, “A people who are entirely dependent upon foreigners for food or clothes must always be subject to them.”¹

Thus, when “thirty-three respectable ladies . . . met about sunrise, with their wheels, to spend the day . . . in the laudable design of a spinning match,” they became actors in the great revolutionary drama. Reports from Providence, Salisbury, Byfield, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Beverly, and Boston told of Daughters of Liberty gathering to spin in coordinated displays of “industry” designed to “save their sinking country.” The *Massachusetts Gazette* admonished “young ladies in town and those that live round” to “wear none but your own country linen. Of economy boast, let your pride be the most to show cloaths of your own make and spinning.” Harvard College’s graduating class wore homespun at their commencement ceremonies in 1768. So did the students at Yale and the College of Rhode Island. The *South Carolina Gazette* noted the appearance in Charleston of a gentleman “completely clad in the Product and

Manufacture of his own Plantation.” At the Burgesses’ ball in 1769 men and women made “a genteel appearance . . . chiefly dressed in Virginia cloth.” A Virginian declared: “The Whirling of our Spinning Wheels afford us the most delightful Musick, and Man is the most respected who appears clad in Homespun; as such a Dress is a sure Evidence of Love to his Country.” In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* a free-born American was even more adamant: “The skin of a son of liberty will not feel the coarseness of a homespun shirt! The resolution of a Pennsylvanian ‘should be made of sterner stuff’ than to be frightened at the bug bear—fashion!”²

“Fashion” was the thoughtless emulation of metropolitan style. It was fueled by love of luxury, which was inimical to liberty. As Brutus explained in 1769, luxury bred immorality and excess, which consequently made persons vulnerable to corruption. According to the *Virginia Gazette* in 1778, luxury had even precipitated the war. It “begot Arbitrary Power,” which “begot Oppression,” which, in turn, begot resentment and revenge. It was a credible syllogism. John Adams later recalled how “scarlet and sable robes, of broad bands, and enormous tie wigs” became the sartorial standard in Massachusetts’s imperial courts exactly in these years when popular discontent with British rule intensified.³

“Stern stuff,” in contrast, was now required of Americans, for to preserve their liberties they would have to forsake the “conve-

niences and superfluities” (Franklin’s categories in testimony to the House of Commons in 1766) regularly imported from Britain. Were colonials capable of such sacrifice? Did they have the requisite virtue to “consider their interests as [in]distinct from those of the public?”⁴ Washington assured his London merchant in 1765 that once domestic manufacturing became widespread in the colonies, “the Eyes of our People will perceive, that many of the Luxuries which we have heretofore lavished our Substance to Great Britain for can well be dispensed with whilst the Necessaries of Life are to be procured . . . within ourselves.” Franklin, polemicizing under the pseudonym of “Homespun,” promised that Americans would be able to give up their English tea and would breakfast instead on Indian corn, which was no more “indigestible [than] the Stamp Act.”⁵

A homespun economy, then, was the antipode of European corruption, reflecting a tradition of American material modesty untainted by either poverty or riches. It was an economy monopolized not by an interested government but by a civil society that rested on the energies of independent householders and was, thus (or so it was believed), invulnerable to monopolization by anyone.

The homespun imbued this American public sphere with another unique characteristic: democracy. When sophisticates appeared in Boston and Charleston bereft of their figured silks and broadcloth woolens, they

made simplicity and even coarseness components of revolutionary virtue. They leveled civic membership. “Rich and Poor all turn the Spinning Wheel.” The “indifferently cloathed,” those heretofore considered incapable of virtue precisely because of their destitute and, consequently, dependent status, were promoted to full citizenship.⁶ Such democracy was without precedent. Only a generation earlier, when the Pennsylvania Associators sought to express “the Union of all Ranks,” they depicted three arms in brotherly embrace, respectively clad in ruffled, plain, and checked sleeves, or three Associators marching abreast with shouldered muskets “and dressed in different Clothes, intimating the unanimity of the different Sorts of People in the Association.”⁷ The homespun version of such unanimity was no longer stratified. Quite the opposite. It joined all ranks in sartorial equality. It abolished the once-axiomatic division of society between the polite classes and the meaner sorts. As such, the homespun was a most prosaic expression of what Jefferson would, more abstractly, soon call the equality of all men.

A century or so later this homespun ideology was still in evidence. We spy it, for instance, in Cornelius Mathews’s *Man in the Republic*,

With plainness in thy daily pathway walk—
And disencumbered of excess . . .⁸

In fact, the virtuous celebration of simplicity and material modesty might have become

even more important to Americans’ political self-definition. In 1853 William Marcy, the Secretary of State in Franklin Pierce’s new administration, issued a circular ordering American ambassadors to don “the simple dress of an American citizen.” Such a presentation would best express their “devotion to republican institutions.” Marcy’s instructions were intended principally for domestic consumption. Letters of support poured into the State Department from all over the country. The *New York Herald*, contemptuous of a foreign policy carried out by symbols and gestures, nevertheless recognized the measure of public approbation “from Cape Cod to California” that such patriotic pronouncements were sure to elicit. And, in fact, one such expression could be read the same day in the pages of the *New York Post*, which applauded Marcy’s contribution to the creation of a “national individuality” resting on the rejection of livery and all the other badges of “servility,” “barbarity,” and personal inferiority characteristic of despotism, and markedly absent from the American style of governance.⁹

Prescribing the “simple dress of an American citizen” as the country’s official diplomatic uniform showed that popular taste ruled in America. In a republic, style was not handed down from social elites to a sycophantic public but issued from the bottom up, like social power in general. This was the difference between the “freaks and follies of

foreign fancy,” as the men’s tailoring journal *Mirror of Fashion* defined European manners, and those fashions “strictly consonant with American feelings and predilections.”¹⁰ In the United States, Thomas Gratton, an English visitor, wrote in 1859 that everyone was “as might be said, ‘his own gentleman’ [and] there is no standard for them, from the want of a permanent class in society to be looked up to and imitated.” Dickens, after attending a reception at the White House with “persons of very many grades and classes,” was impressed that even in such a setting no “great displays of costly attire” were in evidence.¹¹

This social leveling took place, however, not on the coarse, homemade terms of the homespun but on those of a fine suit of factory-manufactured broadcloth cut in the most up-to-date styles (that invariably originated in England or France). Horace Greeley, reviewing the exhibition of industrial arts at New York’s Crystal Palace in 1853, wrote: “Every sober mechanic has his one or two suits of broadcloth, and . . . can make as good a display, when he chooses, as what are called the upper classes.” The *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, Greeley’s partisan rivals, proclaimed it no less than a “clothing revolution” and continued: “Articles of clothing are now at the command of the lowest members of society, which, but a century since, were scarcely within the reach of crowned heads.” Sartorial virtue, in other words, was no longer a paean to scarcity and self-sacrifice but,

rather, to male refinement and that refinement’s availability to all citizens. *Putnam’s Magazine*, in 1857, said: “We reject the Spartan theory of republican life which simply leads us back to the barbarities of Spartan or Puritan despotism.” And Reverend Henry W. Bellows delivered an oration on “The Moral Significance of the Crystal Palace,” in which he declaimed that “luxury is debilitating and demoralizing only when it is exclusive. . . . The peculiarity of the luxury of our time, and especially of our country, is its diffusive nature; it is the opportunity and the aim of large masses of our people; and this happily unites it with industry, equality, and justice.”¹²

Civic equality now rested on dressing everyone up. Public happiness was attained not by means of ad hoc frugality but by its opposite: mass production. The result was an “industrial luxury” within the reach of all. If the federal Constitution, in first integrating self-interest into political life, had thus resolved the dichotomy between luxury and republicanism, the Industrial Revolution now gave this synthesis a democratic veneer.

It was a uniquely American democracy. The *Scientific American* explained in 1851: “Objects of utility rather than objects of ornate ability, are the characteristics of American genius.”¹³ The *Mirror of Fashion* described men’s styles in similar terms. “Our dress . . . yields to the conveniences of locomotion without restraint to limb, muscle, or joint, and yet without the inconvenience of carrying a

surplus of cloth."¹⁴ Such surpluses, of course, were the stuff of hoop skirts. Utilitarianism, in contrast, was a distinctly male trait. Men's clothing now embodied an ethos of simplicity and industry and eschewed the superfluities of fashion, much as the homespun had. Thus, we read about the self-made man:

[He] needs but to show [himself] to command at once respect, confidence and success. [He] needs no golden helmet or other blazon of wealth to win the public gaze; in the shock of the conflict, fierce though friendly, the unknown knight, with his plain unostentatious black armor, without page or esquire, proved himself the victorious champion.¹⁵

Is it any wonder, then, that the "simple dress of the American citizen" had become a business suit?

And so, the homespun and the ready-made both symbolized, in their respective centuries, what Americans considered to be a transcendent tradition of civic virtue and democratic equality. The homespun and ready-made also illustrate how that tradition was inverted during the first century of American industrialization. Sartorial virtue changed from homemade to mass produced. It moved from a Malthusian world of scarcity to a machine-driven cornucopia of plenty. In place of the self-sacrifice of elites, it signaled the propertied mobility of all. And having once been a pan-gender project, republican dress now became a male prerogative. Thus, a

history of men's clothing, marginal though it may seem to be, suggests how democracy became consistent with capitalism and how America's great transformation into an industrial nation-state was then credibly presented by contemporaries as the legacy of the country's republican beginnings.

Notes

1. Rush is quoted in John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776–1900* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 9–10.

2. It is interesting to note that two centuries later Ghandi made homespun cloth and the woman's spinning wheel the unifying symbol of another national struggle against British imperial rule. See Edmund Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 86; William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1893), 37–38, 58–59; *Boston Gazette*, January 18, 1768; Gail Gibson, "Costume and Fashion in Charleston, 1769–1782," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 82/3 (1981), 240; Bruce Allan Ragsdale, "Nonimportation and the Search for Economic Dependence in Virginia, 1765–1775" (Ph.D., University of Virginia, 1985), 101, 137; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 19, 1770; May 12, 1768. This last, and best, quote was found by means of a keyword search for "homespun" in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, an eighteenth-century Philadelphia newspaper that has been put onto a CD-ROM.

3. Brutus is quoted in Jack P. Greene, ed., *Colonies to Nation: 1763–1789* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 157; Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 505–6; Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 16–17.

4. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 12, 1768 (keyword search for "virtue").

5. Washington is quoted in Ragsdale, "Nonimportation," 100; Franklin in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, January 2, 1766. *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* was a London paper. I found this quote by means of a keyword search for "homespun" in the Library of America edition of Franklin's writings, which, like Jefferson's, are available on CD.
6. J. Leander Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia: E. Young, 1968; repr. 1967), 331; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 71–72.
7. "Devices and Mottoes of the Associators," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 29, 1747, supplement, on the *Wordcruncher* CD-ROM. The description of the Associators' images was found by a keyword search for "clothes" in Franklin's writings. Keyword searches of Franklin's writings, in fact, unearthed discussions of the political meaning of homespun clothing already in the 1720s, which I would have never otherwise known to look for but which proved important in making sense of the Revolutionary use of the homespun as political symbol.
8. Cornelius Mathews, *Man in the Republic*, a series of poems (New York: Paine & Burgess, 1843). The dearth of electronic sources for the nineteenth century explains why the next section of this essay does not cite any. There are major prose works of the era on CD-ROM (for instance, Melville's novels and Poe's stories) that, I am happy to report, I had already read in non-electronic form. A more helpful source for the historian searching for thick descriptions of nineteenth-century life would be the reams of sentimental fiction that began to appear at that time but which have a modest literary value and, for that reason, apparently, have largely not yet been digitized.
9. *New York Herald*, June 15, 1853; *New York Post*, June 15, 1853; 36 Congress, 1 Session, Ex. Doc. 31, 6; Robert Ralph Davis, Jr., "Diplomatic Plumage: American Court Dress in the Early National Period," *American Quarterly*, 20/2 (Part 1, summer 1968), 174.
10. The *Mirror of Fashion* is quoted in the *New Mirror*, Jan 13, 1844.
11. Thomas Colley Grattan, *Civilized America* (New York: John Reprint Corporation, 1969, originally published in 1859), vol. I, 190; Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London: Penguin, 1972, originally published in 1842), 173.
12. Putnam's is quoted in Peter Buckley, "To the Opera House: Culture and Society in New York City, 1820–1860" (Ph.D., SUNY Stony Brook, 1984), 602–3. Bellows is quoted in Kassoon, *Civilizing the Machine*, 40; Horace Greeley, *Art and Industry as Represented in the Exhibition at the Crystal Palace* (New York: Redfield, 1853), 231, *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (New York), XDC, no. 100 (October 1846): 305.
13. Quoted in Kassoon, *Civilizing the Machine*, 151–55.
14. *Mirror of Fashion*, January 1855, 1–2
15. *Cohen's New Orleans Directory*, 1855.

OUR GROWING COLLECTIONS

THE C.V. STARR EAST ASIAN LIBRARY

Cooperative acquisition: Starr Library has entered into a cooperative arrangement with the Humanities Division of New York University's Bobst Library. Aided by an eighty percent subsidy Starr has been able to order several expensive sets that it otherwise would not have been able to afford. The first of these sets has recently arrived in the Library. It is the Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports 1841–1941 (London: Archive Editions, 1996). This is a six-volume set containing facsimile reprints of administration and related reports, including handwritten ones, covering the first 100 years of British rule in Hong Kong. Some of these reports were never published before. The editorial introduction by Robert L. Jarman includes archival references for each document.

Keene gift: The discovery of a copy of *Oku no Hosomichi* in Matsuo Bashō's own hand was made public in Japan this past November. The importance of the text is enormous, and an annotated edition—soon to be acquired—has become a bestseller in Japan. Professor Donald Keene has donated a limited edition facsimile edition, likely to be the only such copy available in the United States. It is available for scholars and students in Special Collections.

Sheng Yen gift: The Venerable Master Sheng Yen, lineage holder of both the Ts'ao-tung (Soto) and Lin-chi (Rinzai) traditions of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism, and a world authority on Ch'an, has donated a set of his complete scholarly works on the Ch'an Buddhist scriptures in more than forty volumes to the Starr Library. Master Sheng Yen is abbot of the Nung Ch'an Monastery and president of the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies and Dharma Drum Mountain Buddhist Foundation in Taiwan. He and Fran LaFleur (of the Starr Library) met when they both appeared as guests on a talk show on Taiwan television (TTV) aired last June. The show was moderated by Shih Shu-chiing, a contemporary writer of fiction and drama in Taiwan (many of whose works are available in Starr) and the hour-long discussion focused on contrasting attitudes toward life, death, and religious practice in the Buddhist and Judeo-Christian traditions.

RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY

Baker gift: During the Second World War, faculty from the Columbia University School of Journalism traveled to China to instruct young journalists there in the techniques of writing and reporting the news. Under the instruction of Richard Baker, longtime asso-

ciate dean of the Journalism School, a newspaper was produced in Chungking. Numbers 1 to 10 of the newspaper have survived and were presented to the Library by Dean Baker's son, Coleman Baker. They have been added to the collection at Starr East Asian Library.

Barzun gift: Professor Jacques Barzun (B.A., 1927; M.A., 1928; Ph.D., 1932), long a supporter of the Columbia University Libraries, recently donated his working library to the University. Although we were sad to see Professor Barzun depart for warmer climes, we are happy to report that his papers and books will be put to good use in the Library collections. Along with over 2,700 books, the gift included a large group of audio cassettes and LP albums.

Beckmann bequest: The German Expressionist painter Max Beckmann (1884–1950) left Germany in 1937 after his art had been declared “degenerate” by the Nazi regime. The Rare Book and Manuscript Library has just received from the estate of Beckmann's widow, Mathilde Q. Beckmann, eleven manuscript diaries kept by Beckmann in Amsterdam and the United States from 1942 until his death in 1950. The small diaries in German are densely packed with text and include occasional sketches as well as lists and miscellaneous notes. Along with the diaries, the Library received two manuscript drafts of plays in Beckmann's hand: *Der Damenfreund*,

dated 1922–1924 and *Ebi*, dated 1922. This exciting acquisition promises to cast new light for scholars on Beckmann's years in post-World War I Berlin and especially on the final period of his life.

Levi gift: A carefully bound modern reproduction of the Peutinger Tables, *La Tabula Peutingeriana: itinera picta*, an early chart that is purported to be the first European map, was presented to the Library by Annalina Levi.

Lorentz gift: Mrs. Elizabeth Lorentz has continued to add items to the collection of papers relating to the professional career of her late husband, Pare Lorentz, the documentary filmmaker. The current gift includes the production and post-production archive relating to the film *The Fight for Life* (1940) and research materials for two important unfinished films, *No Place to Hide*, about the atomic bomb, and *Ecce Homo*. The gift comprises scripts, correspondence, office files, still photographs, and miscellaneous documents. The Lorentz archives further strengthen the Library's resources for the Columbia's strong program in film studies in the School of the Arts.

Momjian gift: Mark Momjian (B.A., 1983; J.D., 1986) presented to the Library, in honor of President George Rupp's visit to Philadelphia to celebrate the Campaign for Columbia, a three-page signed autograph letter from Frederick Barnard, the President of Columbia

University from 1864 until 1889. The letter, dated 22 September 1866, to John Henry Alexander, an American scientist, discusses the difficulty of filling the vacancies for the post of honorary Commissioner to Paris and exhibits Barnard's close involvement with many of the prominent scientists of his day.

Page gift: The papers and manuscripts of the American novelist Dawn Powell (1896–1965) are on deposit at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Tim Page, owner of the Powell papers, has added to the Powell materials given by him to the Library in the past, letters to Powell from Malcolm and Muriel Cowley and from the writers Gerald and Sara Murphy. Included as well is a typed letter reputed to have been written to Powell by Ernest Hemingway but actually written by Powell herself.

Raymond gift: An addition to the Edwin Howard Armstrong Papers of seven boxes of miscellaneous papers and files was donated to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library by Dana M. Raymond (LL.B., 1939). Major Armstrong, an inventor and professor of electrical engineering at Columbia from 1934 to 1954, was the inventor of FM radio and a pioneer in the field of communication. His papers continue to excite the curiosity of scholars in many fields.

Saxon gift: Dr. Rogers Saxon of Florida donated to the Charles Saxon papers an original drawing, *The Day the Train Stopped*, by his father, the *New Yorker* cartoonist, along with twenty-three other drawings and sketches.

Schaeffler gift: Sam and Katalin Schaeffler continued their tradition of generosity to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library with a diverse group of rare materials that range in origin from eighteenth-century Germany to twentieth-century France. Included in the gift are two small but carefully finished portraits in pastel on board from the 1760s–70s, said to be of Johann Caspar Goethe and Katharina Elisabeth Goethe, father and mother, respectively, of the poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The Schaefflers' gift also includes signed lithographs of two distinguished members of the Perry family: Oliver Hazard Perry (1785–1819), whose decisive victory over the British in Lake Erie in 1813 was announced by the phrase, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," and Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858), head of the naval expedition that forced Japan to enter into trade and diplomatic negotiations with the West after two hundred years of isolation. Other treasures presented at the same time were a volume of engravings published in France shortly after the murder of the Duc de Berry, entitled *Le Duc de Berry, ou Vertus et belles actions d'un Bourbon* (Paris: Chez Papy Descabane, Rue Sainte-Marguerite, no. 37, 1822) and—for

Avery Library—a copy of Ambroise Vollard's *La Vie et l'œuvre de Pierre-Auguste Renoir* (Paris: Chez Ambroise Vollard, 1919).

Schlesinger Foundation gift: Annalisa Cima, president of the Schlesinger Foundation of Lugano, Switzerland, began making donations to what will become a substantial archive of letters and literary papers from twentieth-century writers. The cornerstone of the collection will be the poetry of Eugenio Montale (1896–1981), and among the volumes presented to the Library are three posthumous volumes published by the Schlesinger Foundation (*Poesie inedite di Eugenio Montale*, 3 vols. [Lugano: Fondazione Schlesinger, 1987]), handsomely printed under the auspices of the Officina Bodoni. Additional gifts include a group of autograph letters and manuscripts by a variety of twentieth-century authors, including W. H. Auden, a nine-volume set of *L'Annuario della Fondazione Schlesinger* (Lugano: Fondazione Schlesinger), and, by Annalisa Cima, *Quattro Tempi: Poesie e traduzione* and *Quattro Canti: Postfazione di Pierre Van Bever, traduzioni di Christine Gugolz* (Lugano: Fondazione Schlesinger, 1986 and 1994).

Stern gift: University Professor Fritz Stern (B.A., 1946; Ph.D., 1953) presented to the Library his manuscript and research notes for the book *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichroder, and the Building of the German Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); in addition,

he presented for the Rudolph A. and Catherine Stern papers, a collection established in honor of his parents, three letters written in the 1940s to Rudolph A. Stern by Albert Einstein.

Purchases: Distinctive additions to the collection obtained through purchase from the proceeds of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library's book and manuscript endowments include seventy-four letters, 1931–56, from Tennessee Williams to members of his family; a group of very interesting Graham Greene letters, 1953–90; additions to the Rockwell Kent and George Santayana collections; and a rare complete run of *The Intelligencer*, a London newspaper (1663–64) that reported news of the trans-Atlantic colony in New York, the plague, and the famous comet of 1664. Among the most exciting of the many new books added to the collections are two bound volumes containing seven rare editions of works by Aristotle on natural philosophy, all but one in translations by the Benedictine scholar Joachim Perion (1499–1559), with commentaries by Nicolas de Grouchy, one of Montaigne's private tutors at the Collège de Guyenne. The texts were printed in Paris between 1550 and 1558; the extensive manuscript annotations filling the margins suggest that the books were used in a contemporary classroom.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

CONSUELO W. DUTSCHKE received her Ph.D. from UCLA; she is presently the curator of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

T. K. HUNTER is a Ph.D. candidate in American history at Columbia University. Her current research focuses on the movement of blacks in the eighteenth-century Anglo-American Atlantic world.

ELIAS J. THEODORACOPOULOS, B.A., M.A., M.Phil. (Columbia) is bibliographic assistant in Columbia University Library's Bibliographic Control Division and a Ph.D. candidate in the Classics Department; he is working on a philological commentary of Euripides' *Hecuba*.

ANDERS WINROTH received his Ph.D. from Columbia. He is currently the Sir James Knott Research Fellow at the University of Newcastle.

MICHAEL ZAKIM is writing a political history of men's clothing between the American Revolution and the Civil War. He is a doctoral candidate at Columbia University.

ELECTRONIC TEXT SERVICE RESOURCES CITED IN THIS ISSUE

Pennsylvania Gazette, 1725–1783 [CD-ROM edition]. Malvern, Pa.: Accessible Archives, 1991–1996.

CLCLT: CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts [CD-ROM]. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1991–.

Franklin, Benjamin, and Jefferson, Thomas. [Selections] in *Wordcruncher Disk* [CD-ROM]. Volume 1. Orem, Utah: Electronic Text Corporation, 1990. (Based on Library of America texts.)

In Principio (CD-ROM). Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1992–.

Patrologia Latina database [CD-ROM]. Final release. Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1995.

PHI: CD-ROM 5.3. Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute, 1991.

PHI: CD-ROM 7. Los Altos, Calif.: Packard Humanities Institute, 1996.

Presidential Papers (Washington-Clinton) [CD-ROM]. Provo, Utah: CDEX Information Group, 1995.

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae [CD-ROM]. Version No. D. [Irvine, Calif.?]: University of California, 1992.

Columbia
LIBRARY COLUMNS

MICHAEL STOLLER, *Editor*

EDITORIAL BOARD

Jean Ashton, *Rare Book and Manuscript Library*

Whitney Bagnall, *Law Library*

Elizabeth Davis, *Music Library*

Howard Dillon, *Humanities and History Division*

Angela Giral, *Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library*

Amy V. Heinrich, *C. V. Starr East Asian Library*

Susan Jacobson, *Health Sciences Library*

David Magier, *Area Studies Department*

ADVISORY BOARD

Richard Brilliant, *Department of Art History*

Samuel Devons, *Department of Physics*

Milton Gatch, *Director, Burke Library,
Union Theological Seminary*

Henry F. Graff, *Emeritus, Department of History*

William V. Harris, *Department of History*

Andreas Huyssen, *Department of Germanic Languages*

Donald Keene, *Emeritus, Department of East Asian
Languages and Cultures*

Paul O. Kristeller, *Emeritus, Department of Philosophy*

George Saliba, *Department of Middle East and Asian
Languages and Cultures*

Robert Somerville, *Department of Religion*

THE FRIENDS OF THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES

AN OPPORTUNITY

The Friends assist the Columbia Libraries in several direct ways: first, through their active interest in the institution and its ideals and through promoting public interest in the role of a research library; second, through gifts of books, manuscripts, and other useful materials; and third, through financial contributions.

By helping to preserve the intellectual accomplishment of the past, we lay the foundation for the university of the future. This is the primary purpose of the Friends of the Columbia Libraries.

Contribution Levels

CONTRIBUTORS

Contribution: \$1–\$99

Benefits: Books & Bytes, the newsletter of the Columbia University Libraries; special invitations to exhibitions and receptions.

FRIENDS

Contribution: \$100–\$499

Benefits: Same as above, plus a subscription to *Columbia Library Columns* and temporary reading privileges.

FELLOWS

Contribution: \$500–\$999

Benefits: Same as above, plus consultations with Columbia University's librarians upon request, and Libraries' Occasional Publications.

SUSTAINING FELLOWS

Contribution: \$1,000–\$4,999

Benefits: Same as above, plus reading privileges.*

PATRONS

Contribution: \$5,000–\$9,999

Benefits: Same as above, plus personal tours of the Libraries upon request.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARIAN'S CIRCLE

Contribution: \$10,000 and above

Benefits: Same as above, plus borrowing privileges.*

* Reading and borrowing privileges, if taken, reduce the tax deductibility of your gift. For Sustaining Fellows and Patrons who choose reading privileges, the tax deductible portion of the gift is reduced by \$660; for University Librarian's Circle contributors who choose borrowing privileges, the deductible portion of the gift is reduced by \$1,200.

